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Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of her lack of physical robustness. About three years ago she lost a baby girl. She was prostrate with grief and never fully recovered. She has been to a number of different doctors who have agreed that she is suffering from 'weakness' but have variously diagnosed this as due to infected tonsils, bad heart, and anaemia. She has had her tonsils and adenoids removed and a number of courses of injections; this treatment has cost a considerable sum of money and has produced no visible improvement. Demetrina, the wife of the second brother, is particularly scornful of Theodorina. 'Theodorina is down on the ground (κατὰ γῆς) again', she complains, and goes on to explain that she is leaving her children in the ditch to fend for themselves just because of an idea in her head. This refers to her grief for her little girl. It is right to grieve, but not to this extent where she is unable to care properly for her sons and daughters for whose existence she ought to thank God. No doubt what really annoys Demetrina and the other women is the money wasted on medicines, and the extra work which they have to do when Theodorina periodically says she is too sick to go about her tasks.

Demetrina, herself, is disliked by all the other wives and her mother-in-law because of her sharp tongue and her dogmatic holier-than-thou attitude. Her own family of origin is on the worst of terms with her husband's brothers and she is suspected, not without reason, of passing on information about the conduct of affairs in the extended family into which she has married. She is a storm centre in many quarrels with the other wives on account of her four-year-old son, an unpleasant and physically tough blonde-headed bully, who maltreats his young cousins by hurling stones and hitting them over the head with pieces of wood. They note that this child resembles his maternal kin.

The third wife, Eleutherina, is a good worker but graceless in body and personality. She suffers from some catarrhal complaint which makes her speech almost unintelligible and causes her nostrils to drool with mucus. Behind her back the other wives mock her for these defects and she is conscious of this. Her small son Alec, who is four years old, suffers from the same catarrhal complaint, appears to be mentally backward, and is subject to periodic fits. She is held responsible for the disabilities of the child which affect the prestige of the whole family.

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condition did not improve, she was returned to her father with the dowry. In the second instance, the bride discovered after the wedding ceremony that the bridegroom had a cleft palate. She succeeded in evading the embraces of her husband by feigning sickness and escaped in the night to her father's home. But once the blood of a woman's virginity has been dedicated to her marriage and the honour of her unborn children, the marriage bond is indestructible except in death.

Ideally a girl who has a premarital love affair should be killed. However, there have been cases where either the father or the brother had not the courage to do it, or was persuaded by the girl that she was raped rather than seduced. But where the fate of the mother may hang in the balance, that of the illegitimate child is never in doubt. It cannot be allowed to live in the community, a testimony to the dishonour of the girl's family. It is placed on a mule-path where it may perhaps be found by others and delivered to an orphanage before it dies. No trace of pity is felt for the infant, for it is a thing without honour and therefore scarcely to be considered human at all. In this community an individual cannot exist simply *qua* individual, he can only be taken account of and evaluated in relation to his family membership; and this implies membership within the group of a wedded pair and their legitimate offspring. To harbour in the family a bastard, only one of whose parents belonged to the group, would be a contradiction in terms. It seems clear that the impossibility of divorce and the destruction of illegitimate children are, in different ways, indices of the solidarity and exclusiveness of the corporate family group.

The property of the family is owned corporately. Although the father and, later, the elder brother administer it, it is never, in Sarakatsan thought, the individual 'dominion' of the head of the family. When the elder brother takes the place of his father, he does not succeed to an estate but only to an office. Speaking of the Indian Joint Family, Vinogradoff[1] suggests that the material goods belonging to it are regarded as a common stock of wealth providing means for the subsistence of its members. This applies equally to the Sarakatsan family. Of the sheep it is said, 'They guard us, they allow us to live' (μᾶς φυλᾶν,

[1] Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1920, vol. i, p. 265.

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562 828 well as the men. They admit that they do not possess the intelligence of men. But they take a certain perverse and compensatory pride in their reputation for cunning and the ability to deceive their men 'forty times each day'. They agree that women are weak, and that the fault in cases of seduction or adultery lies mainly with the girl or the wife. Therefore they accept it as right that, in the first place, retribution should fall on the woman. In customary behaviour this social and moral inferiority is expressed in a number of ways. Women walk behind their men when they are together in public and show them respect. In church the women huddle at the back or line the left-hand wall. Women agree that they are inferior to men in every way, and they continually bemoan their fate that they were not born into the other sex.

562 828 577 [831] Nevertheless, through the possession of shame it is always open to a woman to discipline and redeem her sexuality. The inclinations of her nature, whether conscious or not, make this difficult; but it is the prerequisite of honour. Virginity is a quality which provokes the deepest respect and a sense almost of awe. But the moral dualism of the sexes is finally transcended through the paradox that from women are born the noble sons [554] who will protect the honour of the race. And, as the mother of adult sons whose reputation for manliness is untouched, and as a woman now past the period of her active sexuality, she has almost overcome the moral disabilities of her sex.

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562 156 561 This opposition of the sexes provides the frame for contrasted ideal types of social personality for men and women at each of the three stages of adult life.

884 826 For the unmarried but adult shepherds, the boys (τὰ παιδιά), the pallikaria (τὰ παλληκάρια), physical perfection is an important ideal attribute. A youth ought to be tall, slim, agile, and tough. Ideally, at least, a pallikari is never short in stature. A certain regularity and openness of feature is desirable but without any hint of effeminate fineness. Swarthy complexions and [233] narrowly set eyes are deplored. Any kind of physical deformity is fatal to the reputation of a young shepherd.

884 577 554 But moral qualities are also demanded of the young shepherd, especially courage and strength of purpose. If in addition to

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honour, and one man in the role of married leader whose prudence and self-control secures its material strength. This possibility depends on the number of sons in a family and the stage of its development. Yet in the critical and unfriendly view of others a family must always be in a position to defend itself against outrage. Weakness is shameful and circumstances never excuse it. The corollary to this notion is that, within limits, it is normally preferable to insult than to be insulted, to exploit than to be exploited.

The emphasis on strength appears in the importance, in moral judgements, of health, effectiveness (δραστηριότης), skill and cleverness. Skill conserves material strength; animals are less likely to become diseased, inferior pastures are not chosen. A man ought to be 'able' in the sense of able to provide, and he needs cleverness of the kind that foresees future threats in time. Health is imperative in this scheme of things; chronic sickness or deformity is inexcusable. There is little sentimentality. Questions of honour are not complicated by notions of chivalrous conduct. An honour killing is accomplished without warning by a bullet fired from behind cover, or a knife in the back. This does not mean that Sarakatsani are cowards; they are, in fact, immensely brave. But, continually, the accent is on effective action, the achievement of success, the avoidance of failure. Ends matter more than means. Consequently, those qualities and attributes that are necessary for strength tend to be considered as morally good, those that lead to weakness as morally bad. Sarakatsani would condemn any display of excessive altruism on the grounds that it inevitably weakens a person's own family and strengthens the family of another; it would be, at best, imprudent, and in a situation where it clearly damaged the interests of the family it would be immoral.

Strength and prowess, then, matter more than ethical goodness. Indeed a man is only good when he is also by implication, able and strong. Although aimless violence is dishonourable there is no missing the pleasure it gives when a man is forced to kill; nor the prestige which it brings him. For there is no more conclusive way of showing that you are stronger than by taking away the other man's life.

The form of this system of values is related to three features of the social structure: the first of these is the complementary

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754 members have an obvious reason to be envious of other people. 232 They may also be persons from respected families who suffer some personal disability or deformity; for instance, a powerful eye is attributed to a prosperous Skamneli villager who has a squint and a club-foot.

754 596 Generally, however, the question whether the evil eye of any person is to be attributed to unconscious witchcraft or intentional sorcery depends upon his relationship to the victim. Since small children are often bewitched, it is not remarkable that in extended families the tensions which exist between the wives of brothers are often reflected in the regular presence of the name of the husband's brother's wife among those suspected by the mother of a sick child. But it is always accepted that such bewitching is of the unconscious kind, as indeed are almost all instances of evil eye between kinsmen and affines. On the other hand, where the bewitcher is an unrelated person the victim is ready to ascribe more conscious motives to the possessor of the eye that has hurt him.

152 754 It is not, of course, strange that the envy of the evil eye is associated with the Devil. Envy is inherent in the material world of limited resources and numerous contrary wills. Lacking what another possesses and thinking of that rather than of his relation to God, a man is easily led by the Devil to destroy what he himself has not. This tendency is so inherent in the nature of the situation that, as we have seen, even kinsmen and affines bewitch one another, although such is the strength of the moral element in these relationships that the effects are not believed to be produced with conscious intention. 152 554 579 And it is interesting to note that of the elements of prestige which were discussed in the previous chapter, those elements, honour and the quality of being honourable, which tend towards the ideal equality of members of the community and the conception of the Sarakatsani as men united in the desire to live in accordance with honour, do not of themselves necessarily lead to envy between men, for they are essentially spiritual values; on the other hand, those elements of prestige which inevitably differentiate men and possess a pronounced material aspect, wealth, numbers, lineage, marriages, dowries, and so on, are precisely the values competition for which must breed envy in those who are not successful.